

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME IX, NUMBER 5

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 9, 1939

Neutrality Debate Is Opened in Senate

Measure Calls for Repeal of Embargo on Arms and for Rigid Cash-and-Carry System

ARGUMENTS ARE ANALYZED

Both Sides Agree on Keeping United States out of War, but Differ on Methods to Employ

In the next issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, we shall carry the second in the series of articles dealing with the 10-point program outlined at the beginning of the present school year. This week, we discuss the all-important question of revision of the Neutrality Act, with emphasis upon the pro and con arguments.

One of the greatest debates in the history of American foreign policy has been going on in the United States Senate, and echoes have been heard throughout the land. The big issue of the discussion is the question whether the United States should lift the arms embargo and permit arms, munitions, and instruments of war to be sold to belligerent nations. But while this is the feature of the bill which has stirred up controversy, it is by no means the whole of the measure. There are other provisions of great importance. They are not very much discussed because there is general agreement about them. They affect America's neutrality position so deeply, however, that they should not be ignored. The bill contains the following provisions:

Provisions of Bill

1. Americans shall hereafter sell goods of all kinds to warring nations only on a cash-and-carry basis. If a belligerent nation wishes to buy anything from Americans, it must pay cash and must carry the goods away in its own ships.

2. American vessels are not only forbidden to carry on trade with a nation at war, but they must keep out of war zones. The President of the United States may designate certain zones or sections of the ocean dangerous to shipping and American ships cannot enter those zones.

3. Americans are forbidden to travel on the vessels of a nation which is at war.

4. Americans may not lend money to a belligerent government. In selling goods they may give a 90-day credit, inasmuch as such transactions in the business world are considered to be cash deals. These credits may not be renewed.

If this law is enacted it means that America will change her position about neutrality drastically. During all the years of American history our government has maintained the doctrine of "freedom of the seas." By this we have meant that Americans had the right to carry on trade with nations at war subject only to the restrictions which may be imposed under the rules of international law which are generally accepted. (See THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, September 18, page 1, and September 25, page 6.)

Now we come to the central issue in the great Senate debate. A large body of senators, supported by a large section of the American people, say that this law does not go far enough. It ought to declare that certain kinds of goods; that is, arms, munitions, and implements of war, shall not be sold to belligerent nations even though these nations may offer to pay cash and carry the materials away in their own boats. Such a law is now on our statute books. It is commonly known as the arms embargo. The bill which is being debated

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LET'S CALL IT A DAY!

ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON

The Use of This Paper

BY WALTER E. MYER

Since THE AMERICAN OBSERVER is used as a text in current history and as the basis for discussions of public affairs in thousands of classes, it occurs to us that a few suggestions may be useful concerning the purposes of different sections of the paper and the uses to which they may be put.

We recommend that the most concentrated study be devoted to the two main articles. The articles on the war and the problems of foreign nations, one of which appears each week, undertake to explain the course of rapidly moving events in Europe and Asia and to interpret developments week by week so that not only the events but the meaning of events may be made clear. We hope that one who follows these articles week by week may have as good an understanding of the revolutionary world drama now unfolding as may be obtained. In preparing our explanations and interpretations we depend not only on our own research but upon consultations with leading authorities in the field of international relations.

While naturally stressing international problems at a time when the map of Europe is dissolving and being recast, we emphasize the importance of our own American affairs. During the present semester we shall run articles on the 10-point program for America which we outlined in our issue of September 11. We assume that these main articles on foreign and domestic developments and problems will be the chief subjects of class discussion and, in order to make the main points stand out, we append a set of questions at the end of each article. We also submit a list of references so that students who have time for further reading may be directed to magazine articles which cover both sides of disputed questions. This matter of wider reading is important. We hope that many students will form the habit of supplementing their foundational reading in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER by following newspapers and magazines closely. In order to stimulate an interest in wider reading we run a set of questions each week under the heading, "Do You Keep Up With the News?" Some of these questions are answered in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and others are not. Some of them refer to matters which are not so very important, but they are subjects with which a follower of the newspapers will have become familiar.

It is important that students should think clearly, that they should be able to detect propaganda and trickery when they see it, and should become independent thinkers. To help them in this regard we have a section called "Straight Thinking." We hope that every reader of the paper will give attention to this feature. We do not shout constantly about the dangers of propaganda, because we believe that as much harm as good comes from making people suspicious of everything they read or hear. Instead of that we try to help our readers detect trickery and crooked thinking by directing their study of thinking processes in a systematic way.

(Concluded on page 5, column 4)

Soviets' Control of Baltic Is Increased

Makes Estonia and Latvia Vassal States; U. S. S. R. Wins Strategic Victories

FUTURE POLICY IS IN DOUBT

May Cooperate with Germany, or May Seek to Spread Communism Throughout Europe

As the European war entered its second month, greater activity was centered upon the diplomatic front than upon the military. The immediate objectives in the east; that is, the crushing of Poland, had been accomplished. Germany's next move appeared to be to use every means at her command to compel the British and French to "call it a day" and end the war. After a number of important conferences held in Moscow between Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and high Soviet officials, a new Russo-German treaty was signed fixing their new frontiers on Polish territory and calling upon Britain and France to end the war. The Russians and Germans declared that the disappearance of Poland had removed the causes for continuing the war. They held the threat over the heads of the two countries that if they refused to accept a peace offer, Russia might actively join the war on the side of Germany. In such a case, the 160,000,000 Russians would join hands with the 80,000,000 Germans in a gigantic struggle to crush the Allies.

Peace Offer?

It was expected that the German peace offer, backed by Russia, would be formally presented by Italy. Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano was called to Berlin to consult with Hitler and von Ribbentrop, presumably for the purpose of discussing methods of trying to induce the British and French to accept the peace offer. The German Reichstag was called into session for the purpose, it was supposed, of hearing the definite terms of peace and of offering an opportunity for Adolf Hitler to present the German case to the peoples of the world, especially to the English and French.

There was no indication last week, however, that the Allies would seriously consider this new diplomatic assault on the part of Germany and Russia to bring them to terms. Both the English and the French repeated their aim of destroying Hitlerism and their determination to continue the war until that objective had been reached. There appeared little doubt, then, that the war would soon enter its second phase, with Germany using all her military strength on land, sea, and in the air in a mighty offensive against the western democracies. Whether Russia would actively participate in this campaign was known to only a few men last week, and they were not disposed to tell.

Meanwhile, all diplomatic roads were leading to Moscow. The Communist capital became the focal point of diplomatic activity, the center from which decisions of world importance were being made. The foreign ministers of the two Baltic states, Estonia and Latvia, went to Moscow to confer with the heads of the Soviet government, as did the foreign minister of Turkey. While much of what has taken place—and is taking place—at Moscow is clouded in mystery, enough information has leaked out to give the world an idea of the momentous nature of events which are now

(Concluded on page 3)



GLIMPSSES OF THE LANGDALE PIKES—ENGLAND

(Photograph by courtesy of the Travel and Industrial Development Association of Great Britain and Ireland.)

J. B. Priestley Gives Opinions About Patriotism in New Volume

WHAT attitude toward his country should the loyal patriot adopt? Should he praise everything about it, or should he, while being proud of its virtues, criticize its faults? Is the person who criticizes faults and tries to remove them really a more loyal patriot than one who pretends that his country has no faults, and who, consequently, shuts his eyes to possibilities of improvement? These are important questions for the intelligent citizen of every democratic country.

J. B. Priestley, English author, thinks that the critical citizen is the best friend of his country. He explains this view very forcibly in his book, "Rain Upon Godshill" (New York: Harpers, \$3), a book filled with his observations about the United States and England, about people and places and books and ideas. In one chapter he criticizes his own country, England, very forcefully, and he introduces his critical comments on the subject with these reflections:

"Unlike many writers I know, I have no bias against my own country. I am not one of those people who are happy only when they have left their own land. I do not believe—as so many English and Americans do—that anything that happens in a foreign country is more romantic, charming, intelligent, gracious than anything that ever happens at home. I have travelled often and sometimes travelled far, and I have never been sorry to see the magical white cliffs again. In those boat trains from Southampton I have stared out of the window with tears in my eyes, not because the chop on my plate was half-raw and the vegetables uneatable, as they always are, but because I was seeing once again the misty trees and the gold-and-white scribble of the buttercups and daisies in the passing meadows. Nobody has praised more enthusiastically than I have the diamond light of the Arizona Desert, but it never catches at my heart as a certain light in England does, the light of a fine morning in June when every leaf or piece of blossom in the foreground is sharply vivid, but beyond them everything

is gradually shading and melting away into what is in the far background nothing but an exquisite green tenderness. I say that this occasional English light is not merely magnificent, like the one that you see nearly every morning in the American South-West; it is heartbreakingly beautiful, turning earth and air into music. No wonder we have had such poets. And then the people. Because they are my own people, naturally I prefer them to all others. But not all the English. We have some types that I detest above all others. But the ordinary folk here seem to me the nicest in the world. No people are more fundamentally decent and kind. . . . If then I repeat that this island at its best is the most enchanting place in the world and that the ordinary people are the nicest in the world, I ought not to be accused of having any bias against my native land. It is easy to see which way my prejudices run.

"But we should behave towards our country as women behave towards the men they love. A loving wife will do anything for her husband except to stop criticising and trying to improve him. That is the right attitude for a citizen. We should cast the same affectionate but sharp glance at our country. We should love it, but also insist upon telling it all its faults. The dangerous man is not the critic, but the noisy, empty 'patriot' who encourages us to indulge in orgies of self-congratulation. This game is now played, in every country, by certain sections of the Press. The late Arthur Brisbane, who had a daily column printed in all the Hearst newspapers and was said to be the most highly paid journalist in the world, gave the Great American People a dose of flattery every morning, and everything he saw, heard, touched, or tasted only proved to him all over again the immeasurable superiority of this Great People. That is the trick; and a bad one. Mistrust any newspaper that is forever showering compliments on its public. . . . There is about as much real love of country here as there would be conjugal love in a wife who encouraged her husband to go to the nearest saloon-bar and there stand rounds of drinks from morning till night. And everywhere, in every country, as the people are regarded with more contempt, so the tide of public flattery rises."

Mr. Priestley's new book is filled with philosophical observations on a number of subjects. This intelligent Englishman has spent a considerable period of time in the United States and in this book, as well as in his earlier "Midnight on the Desert," he makes a number of informal comments about America and Americans. He is not always kind in his observations, but his criticisms are for the most part highly constructive and always interesting. Priestley followers in this country will enjoy "Rain Upon Godshill" as much for its critical observations about the United States as for the general philosophy it expounds.

- Straight Thinking -

V. Prejudice

HERE is an experiment which you may try on yourself. Read the list of 20 words, names, or terms. In the case of each, ask yourself, "What is my emotion as I think of this word? Do I feel favorable or unfavorable, friendly or hostile?" When, for example, you see the word "striker," you may think of strikers in general. Are you for them or against them? Is your impression a favorable or an unfavorable one? When you see the term "New Deal," is your reaction favorable or do you feel a sense of hostility? And what is your state of feeling when you think "Republican," or "Wall Street," or "German"? Here is the list:

Striker, strikebreaker, labor union, Negro, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, Republican, Democrat, New Deal, conservative, radical, Soviet, English, German, New York Yankees, Joe Louis, prohibition, WPA, Wall Street.

You may be surprised to discover how many terms are associated in your mind with something pleasant or unpleasant; how many suggest feelings of friendliness and how many arouse hostility.

Now here is the second part of the experiment. Suppose you read the word "striker," and it suggests to you the fact that you don't like strikers; that the very word brings up something disagreeable to you. Stop and ask yourself, "Why do I feel that way?" Ask how and when you came to feel as you do about strikers. Was it the result of experiences you have had or of remarks you have heard or read? Can you remember when you began to have that feeling, or is its origin uncertain? The same questioning should, of course, follow your reading the words "Negro," "Republican," "Democrat," and all the rest.

You will probably find in a good many cases that your feelings go back to a time you cannot remember. If, for example, you are either favorable or hostile to the English or to Democrats, you may not know how or when you came to feel toward them as you do.

Yet here is a very important fact: Your attitude today is determined largely by this feeling of friendliness or opposition which somehow got started many years ago; longer ago than you can remember. If, when you were a little child, you heard things which made you dislike Democrats, you may oppose today the candidates which that party nominates. When you read about them you try to find facts which will fortify opinions you already hold. The

same thing is true, of course, if you began to dislike Republicans many years ago.

In other words, you pre-judge people and policies and other things. You come to conclusions about them before you have had a chance to study the facts impartially. You are a victim of what is called "prejudice," or the tendency to pre-judge.

All of us are prejudiced about some things and some of us are prejudiced about nearly everything. And this is a serious matter, for if we are prejudiced it is very hard for us to use our reasoning powers. We are governed by our feelings and not by our intellects. This means that our decisions are no more sensible than if our intellects were very poor, for it makes no difference how good a man's intellect is if he does not use it—if he is governed by preferences which he formed in his childhood.

The best remedy for prejudices is to know that they exist and to be on guard against them. If you approach any public problem with the knowledge that you have pre-judged it and are prejudiced, you may make allowances for your prejudice. Redouble your efforts to find out the facts independently. Keep asking whether you are being fair to yourself in your study and thinking; whether you are breaking the chains of prejudice. Prejudice thrives only in dark, secret places. Turn on the light and it is likely to fade. Then, and not until then, will you be an independent thinker.

THE SOURCE OF PREJUDICE
DARLING IN N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

What the Magazines Say

WHAT is to be done for our growing population of aging men and women who have not, because of economic changes, been able to provide for themselves?" asks Roy Helton in an article, "Old People: A Rising National Problem" in the October issue of *Harpers*. His question is timely. Already large groups of old people have become followers of such men as Townsend and many writers have predicted that the voices of the aged will be heard in the 1940 political campaign. Mr. Helton asks people in the United States to face the fact that the population of this country is growing older. He points out that the average life expectancy of a man now is not 35 years, as it was in 1850, but 60 years and going higher.

The whole point of Mr. Helton's article is that we have placed too much emphasis on the purely financial angle of the old-age problem. In his own words: "Like so many of us here in America the aged have been given the idea

and bodies they should work, not in competition with the young, in those fields of heavy production in which all employment is now declining, but in all those supplementary directions which are equally needful for a balanced civilization."

A more practical aspect of the old-age problem is furnished by Arthur Pound's article, "The Pension Pool," in *The Atlantic* for October. He gives facts and figures of pensions already being paid in the United States as well as estimates on the cost of future plans and the strain they might throw upon the wage earners. He says: "Arguments for extravagant old-age pensions based upon the release of purchasing power through elderly spending are sheer moonshine. In the long run, production has to pay for production, and when consumption merely sustains nonproducers it is a drag on the national economy."

The European war has caused the United States to take stock of its natural resources with an eye to the needs of defense. Writing in the *New York Times Magazine* for September 24, Mildred Adams gives a good summary of this subject in an article called "The Good Earth: These United States." She says that the United States, in spite of its wastefulness in past years, is the richest country in the world. According to her report we have half of all petroleum known in the world, more of the necessary minerals than any other country, a soil that still contains potential richness, and a more than adequate water supply. Miss Adams is hopeful that "The stark necessities underlined by European war may persuade us to mend our untidy ways."

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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or have acquired the idea that all they need for happiness is money. They do need money. They do need adequate support. But money is not the cure for the unhappiness of old age."

Toward making the aged happy he suggests: "For the good of everybody the old should work. For the good of their minds

Soviets Increase Control of Baltic

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

taking shape. These events are likely to have a profound effect upon all Europe, especially upon the nations from the Baltic Sea to the Balkan peninsula and the Black Sea.

Influence Extended

Within the course of one short month, the Soviets have extended their influence into the very heart of Europe and now occupy a position where their decisions will play a vital role in determining what happens throughout the continent. By the single stroke of taking part in the partition of Poland, Russia has sprawled herself across Germany's path of expansion, either northward toward the Baltic region, or southeastward toward the Balkan states. From the strategic standpoint, she has placed herself in a position to determine Germany's future course of action in the eastern part of Europe. Germany can make no move without the consent or active cooperation of the Soviet Union.

The dividing line between Germany and the U.S.S.R., while giving the Soviets considerably less territory than the temporary line of demarcation fixed earlier, places them in an unusually strong position. Russia has annexed territories inhabited largely by Ukrainians and White Russians, racial groups with blood brothers inhabiting the Soviet Union proper. Few Poles are contained in these annexed sections. Thus the Soviets may avoid the danger of future uprisings of alien peoples which they might have confronted had they incorporated large numbers of Poles by extending their frontier further westward.

At the same time, the Soviets have lost none of their advantages from the strategic standpoint. Their new frontier prevents Germany from acquiring a common borderline with Rumania from which to make an invasion of that country. Their new frontier touches upon Hungary, making it impossible for the Germans to attack that neighboring state without their permission. The fourth partition of Poland, therefore, places the Soviets in a position to thwart the German "push to the east," if they should choose to do so. In a word, Germany cannot go forward with one of her most cherished ambitions of extending her control through the Balkans without the help of the Soviets.

Equally important are the developments which have taken place in northern Europe, in the Baltic region. The Soviets are entrenching themselves in that section. They



BALTIC WATERS

The numerous harbors and inlets in the Baltic region are of great importance from a military point of view. The above is a view of Naantali, Finland.

have already established what amounts to a protectorate over the small states of Estonia and Latvia. The Estonian foreign minister was called to Moscow to accept Russia's terms and sign a treaty. To refuse would have spelled disaster. By the terms of the agreement, Russia is allowed to build air and naval bases on the Estonian islands of Oesel and Dagoe, and in the port of Baltiski. Moreover, Soviet troops may be stationed at certain strategic points in Estonia.

The Baltic

By making Estonia a vassal state of the Soviet Union, this diplomatic coup greatly increases Russian influence in the Baltic. It protects her access to the city of Leningrad, gives her an ice-free port, and enables her to dominate the Gulf of Finland, and through the Gulf of Finland the eastern end of the Baltic Sea.

Following the extension of Soviet control over Estonia, the Soviet government called the foreign minister of Latvia to Moscow to accept a similar arrangement for his country. The Soviets demanded access to the Latvian port of Libau, which is directly connected by rail with the central part of Russia and with the Ukraine. Here Russia will maintain a naval base and will place Red troops to safeguard her interests. There are reasons to believe that Lithuania and Finland "will be next" on the Soviet program. Already the Lithuanian foreign minister has been invited to Moscow.

In strengthening her position on the Baltic, Soviet Russia is reverting to a policy of the Russian czars. From the days of Peter the Great (see page 6), Russia had sought to acquire and maintain a "window in the west"; that is, to control the Baltic coast. Before the World War, the three Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, together with Finland, were parts of imperial Russia. The peace settlement separated them from Russia and made them independent nations.

Although the Baltic states are small in size and economically unimportant, they have played a vital role in the history of northeastern Europe. The ancient fortress of Narva in Estonia, still standing today, was the scene of Peter the Great's first great drive to the Baltic. Throughout the centuries, the Baltic states have been important to the powers of northern Europe and have been the object of conflicting imperialist ambitions. Control or domination of them has meant control of the Baltic Sea—a great link between eastern and western Europe.

The object in setting up the Baltic provinces of imperial Russia as independent nations was twofold. In the first place, they were to stand as a bulwark against German expansion northeastward. The second object of creating a

row of independent states along the shores of the Baltic was to prevent Russia's expansion westward. This second objective was particularly important at the conclusion of the World War because the threat of the spread of communism throughout Europe was considered real by the powers. It was thought, therefore, that the Baltic states would serve to keep Russian influence from extending into western Europe, German domination from spreading too far eastward. In addition, the Baltic states were to serve as buffer states to prevent Germany and Russia from having a common frontier.

For nearly 20 years this structure served its purpose of maintaining the delicate balance in the Baltic. Numerous attempts were made by both Germany and Russia to gain control of these states and transform the Baltic into a German or a Russian lake. The Soviets undertook to spread their revolutionary ideas into the Baltic states, and internal conflicts between Communists and others were frequent during the early years of the postwar period. The German Nazis, after they came to power, used aggressive tactics in the Baltic region. By annexing the Memel region from Lithuania early this year, they succeeded in bringing Lithuania under their domination, making its very existence dependent upon their favor.

Further Aims

Now that the Soviets have achieved their "bloodless victories" in the Baltic, using tactics similar to those employed by Hitler in subduing Austria and Czechoslovakia, the whole status of the Baltic has been altered. Russia has by no means made the Baltic a Russian lake, but she has securely established herself in the eastern half and prevented Germany from making herself mistress of that sea. A new chapter in the long history of the Baltic has begun.

It would be a mistake to regard these developments in the Baltic apart from their relationship to the general European situation. It may be that turning the Baltic states over to Russian domination was part of the price which Hitler had to pay for the Soviets' cooperation and neutrality. It may be that Stalin has acted on his own, knowing that Germany could do nothing to hold him back.

Whatever the reason, Soviet Russia's latest moves have drastically altered the whole situation in Europe. Ever since the close of the World War, the Soviet Union has been prevented from exercising a dominant influence upon developments in Europe. As recently as September of 1938, she was ignored by the other powers, when they refused to invite her to the Munich conference. Almost overnight, her importance has shifted from a secondary to a major position.

What the new Soviet position in Europe will mean for the future no man can foresee. It may be a revival of the old imperialistic game, suspended for a time after the World War but now revived at the opportune moment. Or it may be the revival of the early Soviet policy of seeking to foster Communist revolutions in neighboring countries. It must not be

forgotten that Russia has never permanently given up the idea of world revolution and may now be laying the groundwork for a new revolutionary drive. The Red Army which has taken over the eastern part of Poland has already undertaken a program of Sovietization by helping the peasants to seize land, by urging them to destroy the landowners "with arms, scythes, pitchforks, and hatchets."

If the idea of spreading Communist revolution throughout Europe is in the minds of the Soviet leaders, they are in a far stronger position to do so than they have been at any time since the revolution of 1917. The bulwarks against the spread of Communism westward have been destroyed. The Soviet frontiers have been extended several hundred miles westward, almost to the very heart of central Europe. The Red Army is as skilled in the use of Communist propaganda as in the use of machine guns. And the Red Army now stands on the borders of East Prussia, of Rumania, of Hungary. In each of these countries the peasants have long been oppressed and discontented, and it is not at all impossible that the Soviets will take advantage of this discontent to further their own cause of revolution. No consideration of the future of Europe is complete without full recognition of this possibility.

Questions and References

1. By what steps has Soviet Russia established herself in control of the eastern end of the Baltic?



PORTENT ABOVE THE BATTLE SMOKE
HALLADAY IN PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

2. To what nation did the Baltic states and Finland belong before the World War?

3. Although Russia's share of Poland is smaller than provided by the original line of demarcation, her position has been strengthened. Do you agree with that statement?

4. How has Germany's fundamental position in eastern Europe been altered by her dealings with Russia during the last six weeks?

5. Why are the Soviets in a better position to promote Communist revolution in Europe now than at any time since the World War?

For further reading on the subject of this article, we suggest the following magazine articles: (a) **Hitler Could Not Stop**, by Herman Rauschnig. *Foreign Affairs*, October 1939, pp. 1-12. (b) **Germany vs. Russia in the North**, by J. Joesten. *The Nation*, June 24, 1939, pp. 719-722. (c) **Vulnerable Baltic**, by H. C. Wolfe. *The Nation*, May 27, 1939, pp. 607-609. **Russia Shakes the World**. *The New Republic*, September 27, 1939, pp. 200-201.

Vocabulary Quiz

(See page 8, column 4, for answers)

Complete each sentence so that the italicized verb will be used in the right sense.

1. Some spend their lives *alleviating* (a) pain, (b) bridges, (c) money, (d) parties.

2. If you *catechize* a child, you (a) beat it, (b) wash it, (c) teach it, (d) scold it.

3. Tropical climate is *debilitating* because it (a) is very hot, (b) makes you see mirages, (c) weakens your health, (d) breeds rare flowers.

4. When you *elucidate* something, you (a) run away from it, (b) explain it, (c) make fun of it, (d) convert it into cash.

5. To *impale* something, you need (a) a bucket, (b) a sharp instrument, (c) a brush, (d) a gun.

6. *Kneading* is something you do with (a) your hands, (b) needles, (c) a shovel, (d) a knife.

7. A man is *reprieved* when (a) he is given a raise, (b) his execution is postponed, (c) he gets bad news, (d) he joins the army.

8. You could not *rifle* (a) a desk, (b) a safe, (c) a chair, (d) a chest of drawers.

9. You can *satiare* your (a) hands, (b) appetite, (c) complexion, (d) disposition.

10. You don't like people who *toady* if you hate (a) flattery, (b) golf, (c) boats, (d) dogs.



POLAND DIVIDED

This map shows how Germany and Russia have cut a line through Poland. There were hints that Hitler might offer to establish a small "independent" Poland out of the German portion, as a condition of peace.



THE WHITE HOUSE IS CLOSELY GUARDED

For the first time since the Wilson administration White House grounds have been closed to visitors by order of the U. S. Secret Service. Greater precautions than ever are being taken to guard the person of the President.

DOMESTIC

Business Up

At present, business activity in the United States is the highest in two years. One of the best barometers of industry is the machine tool trade which supplies tools for other factories and plants. When the other industries are idle, it is idle; when they are busy, it is busy. It is therefore considered significant that the machine tool industry had to cancel plans for a convention recently because all the companies in the field were too busy to attend.

There has been unaccustomed activity, too, in the gigantic railroad business, long almost stagnant. Pennsylvania Railroad, one of the largest, announced that it would spend \$17,000,000 on locomotives, cars, and rails; the Illinois Central is planning to spend \$8,000,000 on improvements. In the steel industry, prices for scrap iron and steel are rising. In Chicago, the employment in the steel mills has reached 80,000—only 2,000 under the post-depression high. Shipyards are working overtime. The aviation industry has been staggering under the effect of unfilled orders for \$332,500,000 worth of new planes from the United States and foreign governments.

Some industries have been affected adversely. One of the most prominent of these is motion pictures. Normally, from one-third to one-half of the revenue of the Hollywood studios is derived from theatres abroad. Every week, 110,000,000 foreigners, principally in Europe, attend motion pictures. With the war raging, it is feared that this field for American products might be severely curtailed.

In general, however, the signs point toward better business conditions. Some economists have pointed out that the rises so far have been due primarily to purchases by domestic buyers. But this might be due to the fear that large foreign purchases were probable. If these failed to materialize, would there be a drop? Others pointed out that prosperity, like depressions, gathers momentum. Thus, if some men are put to work, earn wages, and spend their money, more men are put to work to produce the commodities they buy. It has been estimated that if 1,000,000 men, for example, obtain employment, an additional 1,000,000 may find employment as the result. Thus, a boom, even if created by the war, might start an ascending cycle that would be more or less permanent. On the other hand, there is the fear that industry may gear its production for wartime so that when peace arrives, the necessary adjustment will throw the country into another depression.

U. S. Politics

When Europe plunged into war, it was quite generally agreed that politics in this country should be "adjourned" in order that the United States might deal with the emergency as a united nation. Since that time, however, it has become apparent that the definition of

"adjournment" has varied. It is obvious that the war will necessarily affect the 1940 election. As the war may take surprising turns in later months, it is impossible to determine accurately what the political situation may be in 1940. But already there are trends that may develop until they are dominant factors next November.

For one thing, the Democratic party, which at the close of the last session of Congress was riven with dissension, appears to be moving toward harmony behind the President's



THE MAIL POURS IN

Whenever an important issue arises in Congress, senators and representatives receive thousands of letters and telegrams urging them to vote one way or the other. The mail was unusually heavy as the neutrality debate began.

move to repeal the embargo. It is true that some Democrats are opposed to repeal, but many more, such as Vice President Garner, and Senators Byrd and Glass of Virginia, George of Georgia, and others who have fought the President on many issues, have returned to the administration's fold. This has not only aided the party, but has boosted the personal influence of the President.

On the other hand, the Republican party, which was becoming united in its opposition to Roosevelt, has split sharply on the subject of embargo repeal. Senator Vandenberg is



GETTING READY

Within a few weeks Admiral Richard E. Byrd will embark upon another expedition to the South Pole. He will seek to claim for the United States additional territory in the South Polar regions which lie within the Western Hemisphere.

The Week at Home

What the People of the World Are

for the embargo, while Senator Taft, also a presidential prospect, is against it. Many of the Republican leaders have indicated that they fear the request for an "adjournment" in politics was merely to insure Democratic success in 1940. Former Governor Alfred M. Landon, for example, said the President should promise not to be a candidate in 1940 to prove his sincerity. It may well be that the party will unite again in order to win the election. But, if foreign relations are a dominant factor next year, the Republicans would be severely handicapped unless they could present a united front.

Government Workers

Figures released by the Civil Service Commission last week show a steady increase in the number of persons employed in the executive branch of the federal government. They reveal that early in the year the total for this branch passed the all-time high of 917,760, reached in the last year of the World War, and threatens soon to cross the million mark. The total as of July 31 stands at 927,887, of whom nearly a fifth are women.

The figure includes all those on Uncle Sam's pay roll except men in the armed forces and employees or members of the legislative and judicial branches. Although an increasingly heavy flow of mail and large increases in military defense work and naval construction account for much of the high total, a good part of it may be traced to increased activities of the government under the New Deal. In this connection it may be noted that 36,787 are employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, and that 44,277 are engaged in administering the WPA and PWA.

Saying that this increase in governmental functions was being paralleled in "all the civilized countries of the world," Harry B. Mitchell, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, predicted that the figure would not decrease noticeably unless the population stopped growing or the people stopped asking more services from government agencies.

Labor Election

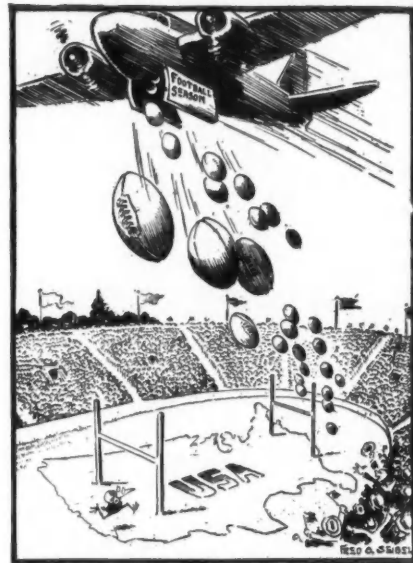
The biggest election ever sponsored by the National Labor Relations Board was held last month in order to determine which union should have the right to bargain for the 55,000 employees of the Chrysler Corporation. A separate election was held in each of the automobile company's 13 plants, which are located in Michigan, Indiana, and California. The voting took place simultaneously, despite the difference in time, and a staff of 300 state and federal employees was specially trained for the task of supervising balloting and counting. Voting instructions were distributed in several foreign languages because of the large number of workers who could not read English.

As is generally the case, the ballot permitted workers to vote for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, or for no union at all. Approximately 49,000 Chrysler employees availed themselves of the privilege of voting. Although the CIO had a strong majority in most units, the plant in Kokomo, Indiana, voted for "neither union," and the plant in Evansville, Indiana, endorsed the AFL. The victorious union in each plant will henceforth represent all the workers in that plant in their negotiations with the corporation.

Auto Show

When the 1940 Auto Show starts next week in the Grand Central Palace in New York City, it will be an important event in America's biggest industry. That will not be due so much to the mere demonstration of the new models as to the fact that it will herald the opening of a new season for the automobile manufacturers—and the success of that season is an important factor in American economy.

Last year over 300,000 workers were employed in motor vehicle and parts factories,

BIG OFFENSIVE ON THE U. S. FRONT
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

and an additional six and one-half million were employed directly or indirectly in highway transportation. Over two and one-half million cars and trucks were sold. Large as those figures are, they are considerably under the 4,790,000 vehicles sold in 1929, or the 4,068,000 sold in 1937. When operating at their peak, the automobile factories employ about 500,000 men and use one-fifth of all the steel, three-fourths of all the plate glass, a third of all the lead, three-fourths of all the rubber, a fourth of all the nickel purchased in this country. Thus, if the production figures should rise this year, it would have far-reaching effects on the country and would be evidence that business generally had improved.

Toscanini Returns

Millions of radio listeners eagerly read the news of Arturo Toscanini's return from Europe to the United States this week. It marked the beginning of the third season in



HE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO READ

which the 72-year-old maestro has directed the National Broadcasting Company's symphony orchestra. A genius with the baton, Toscanini had conducted the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra for 11 years. At other concert appearances in this country, he added to his fame. With an amazing memory and an ability to bring the very best performance out of his players, he had no peer as a conductor.

But at best, he was heard only by limited audiences until NBC induced him to direct a carefully assembled orchestra. During his first season with them he conducted 11 broadcasts and two benefit concerts. Last year 16 concerts were presented for the radio audience. This year's series of broadcasts will begin Saturday night, October 14, at 10 o'clock Eastern Standard Time. On the Saturdays from October 28 to December 2, there will be six programs celebrating the Beethoven festival, featuring Beethoven's nine sym-

Home and Abroad

What We Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking



WILL IT HAPPEN IN REAL LIFE?
TALBURY IN WASHINGTON NEWS

phonies and several of his other major orchestral works.

WPA Cleans House

Men on the pay rolls of the Works Progress Administration must now prove, every six months, that they really need relief, according to Colonel F. C. Harrington, WPA administrator, who is charged with enforcing the drastic Woodrum Relief Act. Passed last June, the act cut the quota of relievers to 1,650,000, although nearly 3,000,000 were on relief last year. There is also an article in the act providing that men who have been on relief for 18 months should be dropped from the pay roll for one month, in which time it is hoped that they will be able to find private employment. Men are also dropped from WPA pay rolls if it is found that they have turned down a private job, but few such cases have been discovered. Although the act was more severe than the administration



WANTED TO READ IT MIDDLETON IN BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE

wanted it to be, it was approved (according to American Institute of Public Opinion polls) by the rank and file of the electorate and presumably expressed their fear of graft and indolence which might arise from a too-generous relief policy.

FOREIGN

Caravan to Lhasa

A strange caravan recently moved down the ancient trail from the snowy Tangla mountain passes into Lhasa, the capital and holy city of Tibet. Two months previous it had started out from Koko Nor, in western China, and pursued a winding, thousand-mile course across desolate plateaus and into some of the wildest mountains in the world. The treasure,

closely guarded by mounted horsemen and yellow-robed Buddhist monks (lamas), was a five-year-old boy who had been born on December 13, 1933, at the precise moment when death had overtaken the aged ruler of Tibet, the Dalai Lama.

Believing that the Dalai Lama's spirit never dies, but reappears in the form of a new-born infant upon the death of the reigning Lama, the Tibetan Buddhist monks have accepted the boy as a reincarnation of the former Dalai Lama. He will not actually rule until he reaches his majority and has been given a long and strenuous schooling in Buddhist doctrines. Even then he shares his power in normal times with a Panchen Lama, who devotes himself entirely to spiritual matters. But Tibet has no Panchen Lama at present, a search still being in progress for a successor to the last one who died two years ago.

The land which the Dalai Lama will rule is one of the most fantastic in the world. Situated in the high mountains between India and China, its only communication with the outside world is through a single telegraph wire. Communication between the villages of Tibet is rendered difficult by towering mountains, deep snows, and avalanches. Agriculture is carried on in the narrow valleys, and some salt and borax are sent out by caravan to India and China. As the lamas constitute one-fifth of the male population, the Buddhist religious influence is considerable. In theory Tibet is an outer province of China, but British influence is very strong.

Argentina South

During the last few months Argentina has shown increasing interest in her territory in the far south—in the sheep-raising regions of Patagonia, and in the lands beyond where the great Andes mountain chain reaches its climax in the Tierra del Fuego (land of fire), and then sinks into the seas in a blanket of fog, snow, and storms. While Chile prepares to inaugurate a new air line south from Santiago to Magallanes (Punta Arenas), the southernmost city in the world, Argentina is planning to open a new air service from Buenos Aires into southern Patagonia.

But Argentina's interest does not end on the continent. The government recently made it known that it is prepared to press claims to about one-seventh of Antarctica, a slice of ice and snowy mountains about one-fourth of which the United States tentatively claims also. In addition, the Argentine claims embrace islands in a region long claimed by Great Britain—the South Orkneys, South Georgia, South Shetlands, Graham Land, and all other islands in the vicinity of the Weddell Sea, which is on the Argentine side of the South Polar regions. The Argentines base their case on the fact that Canada, Russia, Norway, and Alaska (through the United States) lay claims to all regions lying between their respective borders and the North Pole. Argentina's claims have not yet been officially presented, but it has been hinted that they will be pressed by the Argentine delegation to the international conference of polar explorers which will meet at Bergen, Norway, sometime this winter.

British Taxes

Without waiting for annual budget day to come around, the cold, thin-lipped British chancellor of the exchequer, Sir John Simon, recently walked into the House of Commons and announced the government's program for financing the war. Parliament members stared at the awkward blue budget sheets in stunned silence as he informed them that the enormous sums involved would be raised chiefly by taxation, rather than by borrowing. In a dry, clipped voice, which betrayed not the slightest hint of emotion or excitement, he explained to the House that the basic rate on income taxes, which moved up from 25 to 27½ cents on the dollar this year, will now rise to 35 per cent, and that on April 1, 1940, it will rise to 37½ per cent. High taxes on tea, liquor, and tobacco will go still higher. A 60



WIDE WORLD

SOMEWHERE IN SUSSEX

French and British leaders suddenly and mysteriously fly back and forth across the Channel to confer with one another these days. Their places of meeting are naturally kept secret. This picture was taken in a Sussex town where French Premier Daladier went to meet Prime Minister Chamberlain and other members of the Allied Supreme War Council.

per cent tax on war profits as well as a future levy on capital was implied.

To the average Britisher this spells an immense financial burden. A single man earning only \$10 a week must pay an income tax. A married man with no children, earning \$2,500 a year, must turn over \$300 in cash to the government. In the upper-income brackets, the new tax amounts to 80 per cent of a citizen's total income. The middle-class Englishman finds gasoline prices so high that he can

been termed a "financial blackout" in some London banking centers, on the whole it has been accepted with good humor.

Federated Europe?

When Europeans speak hopefully, and somewhat wistfully, of a "new Europe" today, they seldom mention the League of Nations. In theory, that organization still functions; but it is a mere shell. In Geneva the marble Palais des Nations looms as huge and impressive as ever, but few footsteps echo in its empty corridors, and its halls are dark. The failure of Great Britain, France, and other nations dominating the League to permit it to perform its most obvious functions during the last eight years in the cases of Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Memel, has been climaxed by the League's inability even to go through the empty formality of holding a special meeting of the League Council to discuss the German invasion of Poland. Its prestige has now declined to a point where it dares not function for fear of compromising Swiss neutrality.

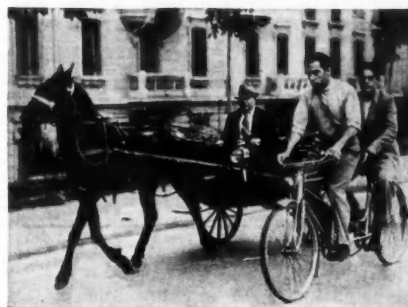
It is possible, of course, that the victors in the present war may seek to revive the League system, but it is not probable. On both sides today there is a talk of a federated Europe. Russia and Germany would establish a federation of all states lying east of the Rhine, plus Spain and Portugal, the objective of which would be to freeze England and France out of continental affairs. Some people in Britain and France are considering a European federation on a somewhat broader basis which would include all nations on that continent (save, perhaps, Russia), and function to reduce armaments, protect all minority peoples, and to secure equality of trade and access to raw materials to all nations—great and small. Such a system, it is thought, might succeed where the League failed, being smaller and more compact. Details of a practical plan for a federated Europe have not been announced by responsible persons on either side, however.

THE USE OF THIS PAPER

(Concluded from page 1)

The purposes of other features of the paper are probably clear enough. The notes on pages 4 and 5 will keep readers abreast of the news at home and abroad. The section on historical backgrounds should give historical perspective and should help readers to understand present events by familiarizing them with the historical roots of the present problems or developments. There are notes on the men and women who are making history today and, on page 7, you will find discussions of student problems, including the problem of finding a job, and of work which is being carried on by students and by schools in different parts of the country.

Our primary purpose is to present news, facts, ideas, in such a way as to help students form habits of systematic and careful reading, thinking, and discussion. Such is the road, we believe, to a continuing education; the road to happiness for the individual and progress for the nation.



INT'L NEWS

ITALY SAVES GAS

In order to conserve her supply of petroleum, Italy has banned the use of private automobiles, with certain necessary exceptions. The streets of Rome have practically been turned over to horses and bicycles.

hardly afford to operate his car. Smoking becomes a luxury. So many little pleasures will be boosted to the luxury category, in fact, that it will become all but impossible for most Britishers to purchase anything but absolute necessities. This, however, is precisely what the government wishes—to reduce the consumption of luxuries and unnecessary goods in order to turn factories over to war production, and to force the public to save whatever cash it can lay aside to invest in government loans which will probably be floated on a large scale in the future.

Despite the fact that the new program has



ACME

THE HOLY RULER OF TIBET

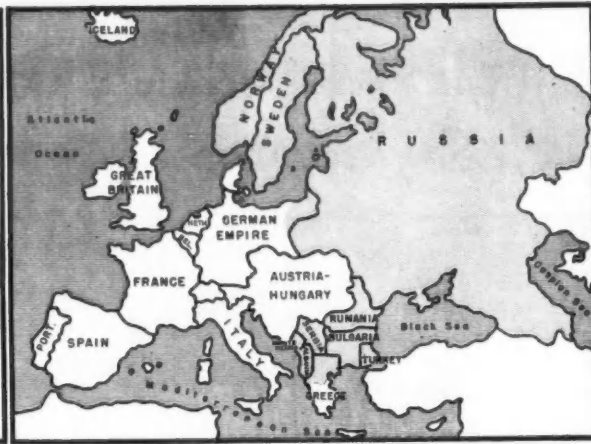
According to ancient, sacred ritual a new Dalai Lama has been found to rule over the land of Tibet. The boy, between five and six years of age, is shown here being carried by an attendant.



GERMANY'S DREAM OF EMPIRE BEFORE 1914
This map, circulated before the World War, showed the German ambition to dominate Middle Europe.



THE NAZI DREAM OF EMPIRE?
This map, circulated by the Nazis in 1934 and known as the Rosenberg Plan, reveals the ambitions of influential Nazi expansionists.



RUSSIA'S DREAM OF EMPIRE BEFORE 1914
The ambitions of the czars conflicted with those of the Germans and this proved to be one of the causes of the World War.

It has been argued by many historians that there is a continuity of foreign policy in all nations; that is, the foreign policies of nations have the same objectives from decade to decade, regardless of the type of government which is in power. Recent developments in Europe lend weight to this theory, especially as it applies to both Germany and Russia. For despite the fact that both nations have undergone revolutions in the postwar period, their foreign policies are now essentially the same as they were under kaiser and czar. What,



DAVID S. MUZZEY

then, are the bases upon which the foreign policies of these two nations rested in the past? We may begin with Germany. Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a strong movement in Germany which clearly outlined the broader objectives for which the German nation should strive. Even before the unification of Germany under Bismarck, writers and philosophers and political leaders were drawing up a blueprint for the Germany of the future. The two elements of this program were territorial expansion and political dominion.

These Germans of the nineteenth century dreamed of a great empire which would dominate the continent and become one of the major powers of the world. The unification effected by Bismarck gave great

impetus to the movement, and propaganda and maps were disseminated showing the geographical confines of the new empire. The region from the Adriatic to the Black Sea was to be included, and in the east it would extend across what was then Russian Poland. Holland was to become a part of the empire, for it controlled the mouth of the Rhine; Belgium, Switzerland, parts of France, as well as the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia were included.

The aims of such an imperialistic program were clearly fixed in the German mind before the outbreak of the World War. Military and political leaders, in considerable numbers, supported the plans. The idea of dominion from Berlin to Bagdad, of a vast German empire extending from the North Sea to the Gulf of Persia, was popularly accepted.

Upon the outbreak of the World War, these objectives were seriously held by many Germans. Kaiser Wilhelm II had already laid the groundwork by challenging Britain's supremacy on the sea, by building a colonial empire in Africa, and by spreading German influence in the direction of Turkey. The nation was primed to make good the dreams of a great German empire which had been dangled before them

for a number of decades by their leaders.

Turning to the prewar aims of the Russians, we find, running through the history of that country from the days of Peter the Great, a similarly ambitious program, which in many respects ran directly counter to the aims of the Germans. The idea behind the Russian movement was that all peoples of Slavic origin should be united into a great nation. The Slavic peoples had been divided among themselves from the beginning of the existence of political nations in Europe. Yet there were established throughout eastern Europe and the Balkans millions of people who belonged to the same racial group. The fact that large groups of Slavs were under the domination of foreign nations, especially in the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in prewar Germany, gave strength to the movement. It is not without significance that one of the causes of the World War was the determination of Russia to fight with Serbia, a Slavic nation, when that country became involved in war with Austria in 1914.

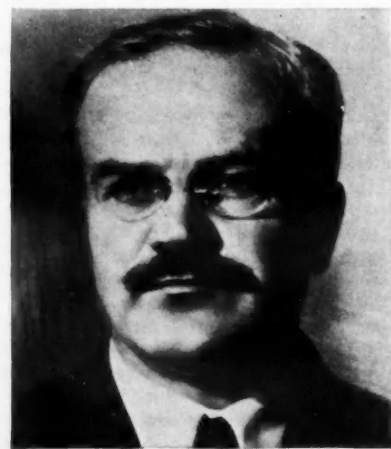
The great czars and czarinas of prewar Russia—Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, Alexander II—all undertook, in one way or another, to extend Russia's

frontiers in Europe. Their ambitions were to drive Turkey out of Europe, to establish Russia securely on the Black Sea and in control of the Dardanelles, leading to the Mediterranean, and to make Russia the dominant power on the Baltic. Russia sought to control the Balkans and to keep German influence from extending into that region. One of her principal aims was to possess warm water ports in the north and in the south, on the Baltic and on the Black Sea.

In the prewar period, the foreign policy both of Germany and of Russia was aggressive. The World War called a halt to the ambitions of both powers. The Communist government in Moscow, after a period of seeking to foster Communist revolutions in other nations, turned its attention to the construction of a strong state at home. Step by step, Germany released herself from the shackles of the Versailles Treaty and embarked once more upon her program of expansion in central and eastern Europe. Now the historic rivals have apparently joined forces by dividing Poland between them and by using pressure upon England and France to end the war. Once more Russia is extending her influence in the Baltic, is seeking to extend her control over the Balkans and the Dardanelles. Will the two powers agree on their respective spheres of influence in eastern Europe and embark upon a long period of close cooperation, or will their conflicting interests lead to friction and eventual clash? These are perhaps the two outstanding questions confronting the world today.

PERSONALITIES IN THE NEWS

ONE of the outstanding figures in the recent German-Soviet conversations has been that of Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, whose name—as recently as a year ago—was very seldom mentioned in the world press. A member of the small but powerful political bureau of the Communist party, and the occupant of the high-sounding but relatively unimportant office of Soviet premier, Molotov did not achieve world prominence until he was suddenly named to succeed Maxim Litvinov as commissar of foreign affairs, last spring. Although Molotov's fame is of recent



V. M. MOLOTOV

origin, his power and influence are of long standing. As is true in the case of many high Soviet leaders, his name (which means "hammer" in Russian) is an adopted one, and his origins are both humble and obscure. His real name was Vyacheslav V. Scriabin. He was born 49 years ago in a small Russian village, where his father was employed as a clerk.

His revolutionary activities began at the early age of 16, when he began to work nights in the secret pressrooms of revolutionary papers. Engaging chiefly in editorial work, he served for a time as chief editor of *Pravda*, the official Communist party organ. Several times he was arrested, and at least once he was exiled to Siberia.

When the Russian revolution broke out in 1917, Molotov at once stepped to a position of prominence as chairman of the Bolshevik faction of the Petrograd (now Leningrad) Soviet.

His genius for organization, and the methodical thoroughness with which he disposed of such painful and difficult tasks as the collectivization of the peasants, and the liquidation of kulaks, or well-to-do farmers, made him a favorite of Stalin, and brought him into the all-powerful political bureau of the party in 1926. Entirely without fanfare—almost unnoticed—Molotov has moved closer to Stalin and taken over the offices of comrades who died in Stalin's purges. Today he is a key man in the Soviet Union.

JOSEPH PATRICK KENNEDY, our present ambassador to the Court of St. James's, and former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Maritime Commission, is a shrewd, practical, energetic Yankee, and, whatever his personal views, he is unswervingly neutral in conduct. He sold papers while attending Boston Latin School, and drove a truck while at Harvard. And when he graduated in 1912, he said that he was going to make a lot of money before he was 35. He is now 52 and is worth several million dollars. He has been a banker, a broker, a shipyard manager, a taxicab operator, and a motion picture executive.

Kennedy gave politics a wide berth until 1932, when he presented the Democratic National Committee with \$25,000 and helped it raise a far greater amount. He was one of the first wealthy businessmen openly to back the New Deal, and he even wrote a popular book, "I'm for Roosevelt."

"Jolly Joe Kennedy," as English journalists call him, is tall, with sandy hair, blue eyes, and an Irishman's sense of humor. He is jovial, a lavish host, and constantly shocks and delights conservative Britain with his "boorish" American ways. Yet for all his informality, he retains great dignity. He is a devout Roman Catholic and the devoted father of nine.

The State Department values the "priority cables" that come through quickly and unmolested from the embassy at Number One, Grosvenor Square. With a busi-

nessman's sharp, analytical mind, Kennedy interprets events in terms of how they affect American interests, and to the English he is frank in reporting this country's resolve to keep out of war. His efforts to aid the State Department in bringing home stranded Americans have been unremitting. The embassy runs on a 24-hour basis. Kennedy works in shirt-sleeves in the daytime and is near a telephone all night. Indeed, the administration is beginning to wonder if its "handyman" has not become the most able member of the American diplomatic corps.



JOSEPH P. KENNEDY



THE RAILROADS—DEBATE SUBJECT

List of References Given on 1939 Subject of Debate for High Schools

THIS year's debate question for high schools deals with the familiar proposal that the government should take over the railroads from private owners. The topic, selected by the National University Extension Association, is: "Resolved, that the federal government should own and operate the railroads." For those of our readers who will be debating this question, we recommend the following references:

Magazine Articles

"Railroads in the Red," by C. W. Hurd. *Current History*, July 1939, pp. 24-26. A discussion of railroad problems and an examination of the solutions (including government ownership) thus far suggested.

"Railroads Under Pressure," by L. Craven. *The Atlantic*, December 1938, pp. 767-776. Statement of labor's and capital's interests in any proposed moves to reorganize the railroads.

"Where Are the Railroads?" *Fortune*, April 1938, pp. 65-67. A comprehensive picture of the railroads and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Congressional Digest, September 1939, is a special debate number devoted to the question: "Resolved, that the federal government should own and operate the railroads." The contents include the historical background of the subject and articles presenting pro and con arguments. Single copies, 50 cents. *Congressional Digest*, 2131 Leroy Place, Washington, D. C.

"What Ruined the Railroads?" by E. Janeway. *The Nation*, November 20, 1937, pp. 555-557. An examination of railroad financing.

"Lo, the Poor Railroads!" by F. E. Williamson. *Current History*, March 1938, pp. 27-30. About railroad competition, wages, and revenues.

"Government-Owned Railroads," by O. G. Villard. *American Mercury*, October 1938, pp. 211-214. After weighing the arguments for and against, Mr. Villard concludes in favor of government ownership.

The entire issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September 1936 is titled, "Railroads and Government." There are articles on railroad services, railroad problems in the United States, government and private ownership and operation, and railroad problems in foreign countries.

"Big Railway Smash," by Charles A. Beard. *The New Republic*, March 9, 1938, pp. 123-124. A forecast of consolidation and coordination of railroads.

In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for January 1939 there is a section (pp. 124-247) devoted to transportation utilities, in which railroad regulation, ownership, and operation are discussed.

The issues of *Railway Age* and of *Traffic World*, both published weekly, frequently contain articles on the question of public vs. private ownership. *Railway Age* is published at 1309 Noble Street, Philadelphia. *Traffic World* is published at 418 South Market Street, Chicago.

Statistics

The official source of railway statistics in the United States is the "Annual Report on the Statistics of Railways," issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission. \$1.50 per copy, obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Books and Pamphlets

"Government Ownership and Operation of Railroads," *Reference Shelf, Volume 13*, by H. B. Summers (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 950-972 University Avenue. \$1.25). Reprints of leading articles on the question, covering the arguments on both sides, and accompanied by briefs and bibliography. This book is supplemented by another volume, also

edited by H. B. Summers, which brings the information up to date with later articles and references. It is 75 cents per copy.

"The Government and the Railroads," a pamphlet compiled for debaters by the Editorial Research Reports, 1013 Thirteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 50 cents per copy. Contains a discussion of rail legislation, railroad finances, government operation of railroads in wartime, and proposals for federal ownership and operation.

"The American Transportation Problem," by Harold G. Moulton and others (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. \$3). A study of our transportation system, documented with extensive facts and figures.

"Government Ownership and Operation of Railroads for the United States," by L. C. Sorrell (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. \$3). The author, a University of Chicago professor, favors private ownership.

Organizations

Railway Labor Executives Association, 10 Independence Avenue, S. W., Washington, D. C. This organization, comprising 20 of the 21 railway brotherhoods, will answer requests for labor's viewpoint on the question.

Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D. C. They will furnish free on request copies of a booklet titled, "Private Ownership and Operation vs. Government Ownership and Operation of Railroads in the United States." It contains many facts and statements useful to the debater on the negative side of the question.

Good Advice

ALMOST three centuries and a half have passed since Shakespeare wrote "Hamlet," yet many of his observations about the problems of life seem as fresh and as pertinent today as when he wrote them. Where, for example, in such brief space, can a young man find a more practical set of suggestions than those contained in the familiar words of counsel addressed by Polonius to his son who was leaving for a foreign land? The quotation is from Act I, Scene 3:

My blessing with thee!
And these few precepts in thy memory
See thou character. Give thy thoughts
no tongue,
Nor any unproportioned thought his act.
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
Those friends thou hast, and their adoption
tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of
steel;
But do not dull thy palm with entertain-
ment
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged comrade.
Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in,
Bear't that the opposed may beware of
thee.

Give every man thy ear, but few thy
voice;
Take each man's censure, but reserve
thy judgment.

Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not
gaudy;

For the apparel oft proclaims the man,
And they in France of the best rank and
station

Are of a most select and generous chief
in that.

Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of hus-
bandry.

This above all: to thine ownself be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Vocational Outlook

Dentistry

DESPITE the competition and the long period of training, dentistry is relatively one of the less crowded and more attractive professions. It is far easier to establish oneself as a dentist, for example, than as a doctor, and the chances of success are greater. There are but 60,000 dentists in the country, compared with 165,000 physicians. Thus for every dentist there are 2,000 potential clients, whereas for every doctor there are only 815. This tells only part of the story, however, for there is naturally a greater demand for doctors than for dentists, but, all things considered, the prospects for dentists are brighter than for doctors.

Dentists earn more, on the average, than doctors. It is estimated that the average income for dentists was \$2,787 in 1934; \$3,400 in 1935; and \$4,100 in 1936. There is every reason to believe that it has risen since that time. This is somewhat higher than the average earnings of physicians.

Another advantage of dentistry is that the period of preparation is relatively short. The period includes two years of college work and four years of special training in dentistry, a total of six years, compared with the usual eight years required for physicians.

Upon completion of their training, dentists may establish themselves in one of two ways. Either they may open an office of their own, which will cost between \$2,000 and \$3,000, or they may seek a position as an assistant to an already established dentist. In the latter case, their earnings will vary with conditions; they may begin at no more than \$30 or \$35 a week. Most young dentists use this only as a steppingstone to the establishment of an independent office of their own. A relatively few dentists obtain positions with clinics, industrial firms, school systems, and other institutions.

The work of the dentist is very taxing. For the most part, it is monotonous and demands the highest degree of concentration. Dentists are obliged to remain on their feet most of the time. They must be patient at all times, able to stand up under

a constant physical and nervous strain. Personality plays an important part in the success of the dentist, for unless he can win the confidence of his patients, he is not likely to be able to build up a very large practice.

Those who are contemplating a career in dentistry should begin their preparation while still in high school. They should take subjects which will help them in their work, such subjects as physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, physiology, and psychology. After the two years of college required for entrance into a dental school, one should select a first-rate school. A list of dental schools, with their ratings, may be obtained from the American Dental Association, 212 East Superior Street, Chicago. Tuition and laboratory fees vary from \$600, in state universities, to \$2,000, in private dental schools, for the entire course.

The field of dentistry seems to offer good prospects for the future. More and



THE DENTIST

more attention is being devoted to the care of teeth. There is a growing tendency toward specialization in this field; and the earnings of specialists are higher than those of ordinary dentists. One of the fields of specialization is oral surgery; another is dental X-ray work. All in all, dentistry may be considered a promising field for the young man of intelligence, natural ability, and willingness to work hard in preparing himself and in keeping abreast of the latest practices.

Do You Keep Up With the News?

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 8, column 4)

1. The "dean of American historians," who angrily resigned from the faculty of Columbia University during the war, charging restriction of free speech, is back on the job again. Who is he?

2. As a gesture of good will the United States government recently allowed which one of these nations to purchase 14 American freighters? (a) Brazil, (b) Canada, (c) China, (d) Finland.

3. The present Russo-German division of Poland is the third "partitioning" of that country. True or false?

4. What senator recently remarked that there was something "phony" about the present war?



5. When Mr. Roosevelt told Congress that a policy of embargo had drawn us into war before, to what war was he referring?

6. Among recent emergency legislation passed in Bermuda was a law (a) excluding American citizens for the duration of the war, (b) allowing all Bermuda residents to operate automobiles, (c) empowering the governor to allow women to vote, (d) establishing an 8 o'clock curfew.

7. In order to disassociate politics from the question of neutrality, what did former Governor Alfred M. Landon suggest the President do?

8. Miss Laura Ingalls, American aviatrix, recently made front-page news by (a) enlisting in the French air force, (b) perfecting a new direction-finder, (c) setting a trans-

continental speed record, (d) dropping peace pamphlets on the capital.

9. Link the following official or semi-official news agencies with their respective countries: (a) DNB, (b) Domei, (c) Havas, (d) Tass; (i) France, (ii) Germany, (iii) Japan, (iv) Russia.

10. The National Resources Committee estimates the loss of income in this country during the depression at (a) 200 million, (b) one billion, (c) 100 billion, (d) 200 billion.

11. John L. Lewis, whose CIO is holding its second annual convention this week, broke off from what organization in 1935?

12. One of these former New Deal advisers has just written a book (part of which was serialized in a popular magazine) bitterly attacking the President: (a) George N. Peek, (b) Rex Tugwell, (c) Raymond Moley, (d) General Hugh S. Johnson.

13. Al Smith, ex-governor of New York and one-time presidential candidate, recently made a statement on neutrality. Did he support or attack the President's stand?

14. One of these rivers forms the boundary between Russia and Rumania: (a) the Vistula, (b) the Dnieper, (c) the Dniester, (d) the Bug.

15. Although the matter is being much debated, the Philippines will probably attain their independence on the date set by the Tydings-McDuffie Act, that is to say, in 19.....

PRONUNCIATIONS: Galeazzo Ciano (gah-lay-at'soe chee-ah'noe), Litvinov (leet-vee'noff), Molotov (moe'lo-toff), von Ribbentrop (fon'rib-ben-troap), Pravda (prahv'dah), Leningrad (len'in-grad), Palais des Nations (pa-lay'day'na-see-oan'), Latvia (lat'-vee-ah), Oesel (u'sel-u as in burn), Libau (lib'ow-ow as in how), Dalai Lama (da-li lah'mah-i as in ice), Tierra del Fuego (tee-eh'rah del'fway'goe), Santiago (san-tee-ah'-goe), Magallanes (mah-gahl-yah'nays), Tibet (ti-bet-i as in hit), Lhasa (lah'sah), Tangle (tahng'lah).

Neutrality Policy Change Debated

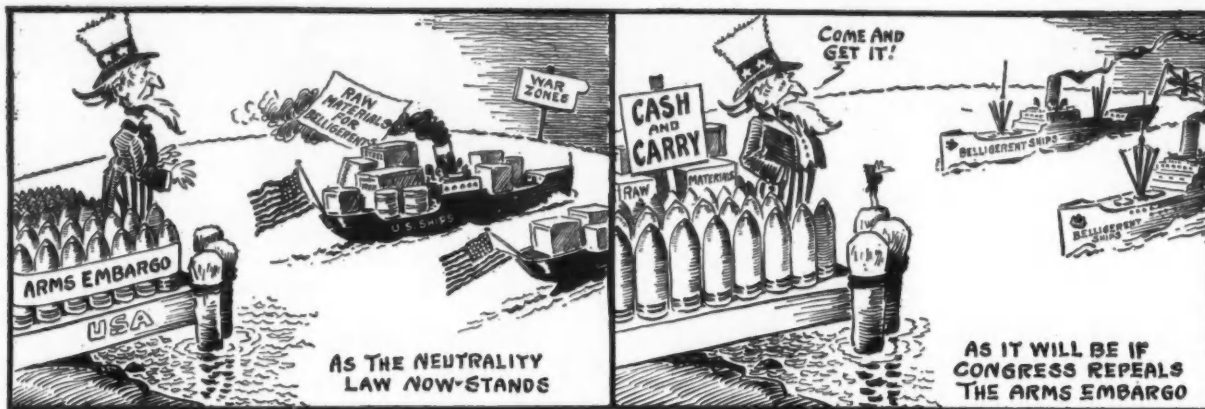
(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

in the Senate repeals this arms embargo. The question is whether the embargo should stand as it now is or whether it should be repealed.

For Repeal of Embargo

President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, are leading the fight to repeal the embargo. They are supported by certain Republicans, among them being Senator Taft of Ohio, a candidate for the presidential nomination, and a large section of the press of the nation. One of their arguments is that we must repeal the arms embargo in order to be strictly neutral in the war. They say that if we maintain the embargo we shall be unneutral; we shall be unfair to Great Britain and France. We shall actually be granting a favor to Germany. They contend that for more than a century the United States has agreed to the general rule of international law which permits neutrals to trade with nations which are at war. These nations have a right to expect that when they go to war they can buy supplies, including armaments, from neutral nations. They can do this if they control the seas or the other avenues through which commerce passes. The ability to buy war materials from across the seas is one of the advantages which a superior navy gives a nation.

The United States, however, two years ago, with a war clearly coming on, changed its historic policy and said that even though a nation controlled the seas it could no longer buy munitions from us. They thus changed our policy in such a way as to hurt Great Britain and France. Germany could not buy munitions from us anyhow because the British navy would prevent it. So the Germans are not directly affected.



AS OPPONENTS OF THE PRESENT ARMS EMBARGO SEE THE ISSUE

SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

in progress in such a way as to hurt one belligerent and assist the other. They contend, therefore, that to change the law now would be equivalent to taking sides against Germany and in favor of Great Britain and France.

Keeping Out of War

This brings us to the very heart of the debate on the arms embargo. Which policy, the keeping of the embargo or its repeal, is more likely to prevent our getting into the war? Those who oppose repeal and want the embargo maintained say that repeal is the first step toward war. It would anger the Germans for us to change our rule to their disadvantage and to sell implements of war to their enemies.

Advocates of embargo repeal answer in this way: Even though the embargo is not repealed, we shall still be selling goods to Great Britain and France. We shall be selling everything except arms and munitions. We shall be selling steel and scrap iron and copper and cotton and food and other essentials. If the Germans resent our selling armaments, they will equally take offense at our selling these things. We cannot avoid trouble merely by stopping the sale of arms.

When we sell arms to the British and French, we shall sell for cash and the goods will be carried away in British and French boats. If Germany tries to break up the trade her attack will be upon British and French shipping and not upon ours. There is little danger, therefore, that we shall become involved.

These are the arguments which we hear most frequently in the public debates. In private conversation, however, another angle to the dispute comes into prominence. Many advocates of repeal want to do away with the embargo because they wish to give assistance to the British and French. They want Britain and France to win the war. They are less concerned about abstract questions of international law and traditional neutrality than they are about the fact that we can help the British and French by selling them airplanes and munitions.

A Dangerous Policy?

People who take this view frequently argue that we can help keep America out of war by giving assistance to the Allies. They say that if Britain and France cannot buy our airplanes and munitions they may lose the war. And, they argue, a smashing

as they are more likely to do if we sell them airplanes and munitions, we will be in no danger of involvement with Germany. We can then confidently expect to remain at peace.

Opponents of repeal; that is, those who want the embargo maintained, argue that it is a very dangerous thing for us to allow our sympathies with either side to determine what our neutrality policy shall be. If, they say, we repeal the embargo for the purpose of helping one side in the war to win, we are very likely to get into the war. We are practically getting into it by that act. They insist that we should be strictly neutral and should not allow our sympathies to have anything to do with our neutrality policy.

Questions and References

The following questions may help the reader keep the main points of the embargo controversy in mind:

1. What is meant by "freedom of the seas"? How and to what extent will the United States give up that doctrine if Congress enacts the bill now pending?
2. What are the main provisions of the neutrality legislation now before Congress?
3. How might the keeping of the arms embargo be said to be unfair to Great Britain and France and hence an unneutral act?
4. How might the repeal of the arms embargo be said to be an unfriendly act toward Germany and hence unneutral?
5. State the argument to the effect that the repeal of the arms embargo will lead us in the direction of war.
6. State the argument to the effect that the repeal of the arms embargo will render our going to war less probable.

Those who wish to make a more complete study of the issues involved in this great debate on foreign policy may turn to the following references and arguments:

"Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," by Charles A. Beard. *Harpers*, September 1939, pp. 337-351.

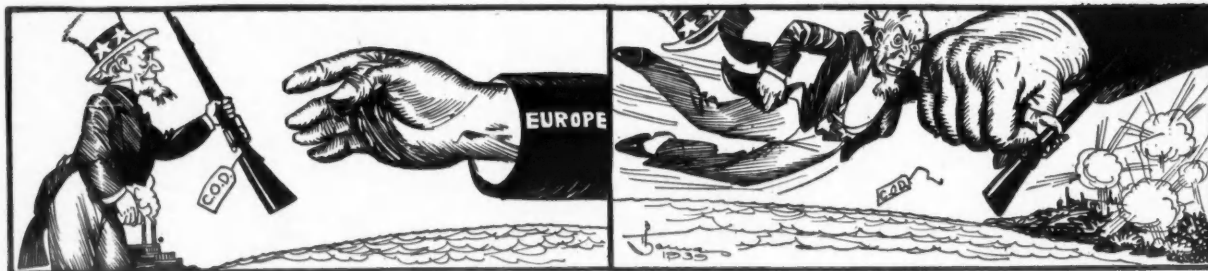
This excellent article reviews the entire question of American foreign policy and is perhaps the strongest statement yet to appear for the case of complete isolation.

"Legislating Peace," by Allen W. Dulles and Hamilton Fish Armstrong. *Foreign Affairs*, October 1938, pp. 1-12.

The argument of this article is that the neutrality law increases the likelihood of America's being drawn into war and prevents the United States from exerting a rightful influence in world affairs.

"America's Neutrality Policy," *Congressional Digest*, January 1936.

The entire issue is devoted to the facts relative to neutrality legislation and to the arguments dealing with the issues now confronting the nation.



AS THOSE WHO FAVOR THE ARMS EMBARGO SEE IT

They are helped, however, by our refusing to sell to their enemies, the British and French.

We were unfair to the British and French in adopting the arms embargo policy two years ago, and we dealt them a serious injury by doing so. In order to be strictly neutral, we should repeal the law and do away with the embargo. Then the British and French, since they have control of the seas, could buy our goods.

The opponents of repeal, led by Senators Borah of Idaho, Vandenberg of Michigan, and Nye of North Dakota, have another version of strict neutrality. They say that two years ago when the world was at peace the Congress of the United States made up its mind, as it had a right to do, to change its historic neutrality position. We decided that America could more easily keep out of war by refusing to sell arms to any belligerent nation. They argued that we got into the World War largely because of the fact that we were supplying arms to one side in that struggle. During a period of peace we made up our minds as to the permanent policy of America. No longer would we do such a thing. And so we wrote a neutrality law with the embargo in it and the whole world knew that we had done so. Now war has come in Europe and it is proposed that we go back on that policy which we adopted calmly in a time of peace and change our neutrality law again—change it so as to help one side in the war and hurt another. They argue that that is distinctly unneutral, that it is always considered a violation of neutrality to change a rule while a war is

However, the argument continues, there is no great danger of our being involved in war because, according to the bill now in Congress, armaments as well as other goods are covered by the cash-and-carry plan.

victory by Germany would endanger the security of the United States. Conditions would be created which would probably bring us into conflict with Germany. If, however, Britain and France win the war,

Smiles

"The Captain sent this bundle of newspapers," said the mate, who had landed on a desert island, to the castaways. "He wasn't so sure you'd want to be rescued when you'd read 'em."
—LONDON DAILY-HERALD

"D'you know, Mrs. 'Arris, I sometimes wonder if me 'usband's grown tired of me."
"Whatever makes you say that, Mrs. 'Iggs?"
"Well, 'e ain't been 'ome for seven years."
—PUP

Golfer: "Caddy, why are you always looking at your watch?"
Caddy: "Watch nothing—this is a compass."
—TRANSIT NEWS

Then there was the new football manager, getting up his schedule, who asked, "What day does Saturday fall on in this administration?"
—LOS ANGELES TIMES

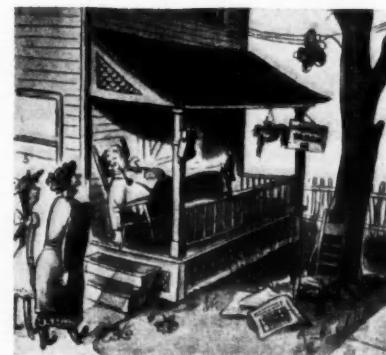
Motorist: "What will it cost me to fix my car?"
Mechanic: "What's the matter with it?"
Motorist: "I don't know."
Mechanic: "Forty-eight dollars and fifty-three cents."
—LABOR

"Was McTavish's new friend attractive?"
"He said she was so attractive that when he took her home in a cab the other night he could hardly keep his eyes on the meter."
—FROTH

Customer: "Is this a genuine fox fur necktie?"

Saleslady: "Well, no, madam, it isn't, but it's just as good. It's a fox-smile."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

"I shall miss you while you are on your hunting trip, dear," said the young wife, "and I shall pray that the other hunters do the same thing."
—SELECTED



"YOU MISSED A WONDERFUL SERMON, PAW. YOU WERE THE TEXT."
BLAND IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up with the News?

1. Charles A. Beard; 2. Brazil; 3. False (it is the fourth); 4. William E. Borah; 5. the War of 1812; 6. (c); 7. declare he would not run for a third term; 8. (d); 9. (a) and (ii), (b) and (iii), (c) and (i), (d) and (iv); 10. (d); 11. American Federation of Labor; 12. (c); 13. He supported it; 14. (c); 15. 1946.

Vocabulary Quiz

1. Alleviating, (a) pain.
2. Catechize, (c) teach.
3. Debilitating, (c) weakens health.
4. Elucidate, (b) explain.
5. Impale, (b) sharp instrument.
6. Kneading, (a) your hands.
7. Reprieved, (b) execution postponed.
8. Rifle, (c) a chair.
9. Satiated, (b) appetite.
10. Toady, (a) flattery.